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THE LUDOVISI RELIEF AND ITS COMPANION PIECE  
IN BOSTON

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[PLATES IV-V]

FEW of the remains of ancient Greek sculpture which have come to light in comparatively recent times are more widely known and more genuinely admired than the reliefs decorating the so-called Ludovisi Throne. Few also have furnished such difficult problems to archaeologists as regards the interpretation of their subjects and the explanation of their style. Though some things about the work which were at first obscure have been cleared up, it still remains, what it seemed to Visconti when he first published it in 1887, "un monumento singolarissimo non meno per la forma, che per le rappresentanze e per lo stile."<sup>1</sup> The companion piece, acquired ten years ago by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, threw some new light on these problems, but added others of equal difficulty. It is true that Studniczka in his publication of the Boston relief has proposed definite answers to all three of the questions which puzzled Visconti.<sup>2</sup> But that these have not met with universal acceptance is shown by the articles of Kjellberg, Gardner and Eisler which have appeared since. Studniczka's treatise, covering 142 pages of the *Jahrbuch*, and enriched with 90 text illustrations and 500 footnotes, is a veritable mine of archaeological lore. In his search for illustrative material he seems to have left hardly a stone unturned, so that there is little hope of finding new evidence which might throw light on the problems. It is perhaps possible, however, to present the evidence with a change of emphasis and from a different standpoint, and thus to arrive at a somewhat different conclusion. In the following pages I wish to set forth the results of such a new shaking of the kaleidoscope. I shall deal especially with the third problem—that of the place to be assigned to the reliefs in the history of Greek sculpture. But since no detailed discussion

<sup>1</sup> *B. Com. Rom.* 1887, p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> *Jb. Arch. I.* XXVI, 1911, pp. 50-192.

of them has yet been published in English, and since a study of the manner in which the artist expressed his ideas may be facilitated by some consideration of the ideas themselves, it seems advisable, by way of introduction, to review briefly the present state of the first two problems.

## I

## THE FORM AND USE OF THE MONUMENTS

The monument in Boston is carved from a single block of marble, hollowed out in such a way as to form a front with a gabled top, and two shorter wings set at right angles to it, with their upper edges continuing approximately the slope of the gable. The left wing is now considerably narrower than the right; and this was also originally the case, except at the bottom where it probably corresponded in width with the other wing. The outer faces of the front and wings are decorated with sculpture in moderately low relief. The top, bottom, and end surfaces are smoothed; the inner faces are roughly tooled. This general description applies equally well to the monument in Rome, except that in the latter both wings are of the same width. But the two marbles differ slightly in all their dimensions, as may be seen in the following table:

	<i>Boston</i>	<i>Rome</i>	<i>Variation</i>
Width of front at bottom, outside. . . . .	1.61 m.	1.42 m.	+0.19 m.
Width of front at top, outside. . . . .	1.42	1.33	+0.09
Width of front at bottom, inside. . . . .	1.14	1.09	+0.05
Width of front at top, inside. . . . .	1.085	1.10	-0.015
Width of right wing at bottom, outside. . . . .	0.73	0.705	+0.025
Width of left wing at bottom, outside. . . . .	0.55	0.705	-0.155
Height of front at right corner. . . . .	0.82	0.86	-0.04
Height of front at left corner. . . . .	0.82	0.835	-0.015
Height of front at centre. . . . .	0.96	ca. 1.03	-0.07
Thickness of front and sides at bottom. . . . .	0.23	0.175	+0.055
Thickness of front at top. . . . .	0.165	0.12	+0.045
Thickness of right wing at top. . . . .	0.155	0.115	+0.04
Thickness of left wing at top. . . . .	0.165	0.115	+0.05
Average height of relief. . . . .	0.08	0.06	+0.02

The most important of these variations can also be seen at a glance in Figure 1, which shows the outlines of the two fronts drawn at the same scale. On both monuments the spaces occupied by the figures in relief are bounded below by curved lines, beginning near the centre of the front and at the ends of the wings,

and rising towards the two corners. On the monument in Boston the parts thus cut off at the bottom are filled with ornaments carved in low relief in the form of Ionic scrolls with volutes at each end, the larger volutes meeting at the angle and supporting a flaring palmette. The corners of the companion piece in Rome evidently once had similar ornaments; they were, however, made separately, and have not survived. As may be seen in Figure 1, the curving ground coincides almost perfectly on both reliefs. It is thus possible to restore the monument in Rome, as Studniczka has done (*l. c.* p. 77, fig. 17), with angle ornaments of exactly the

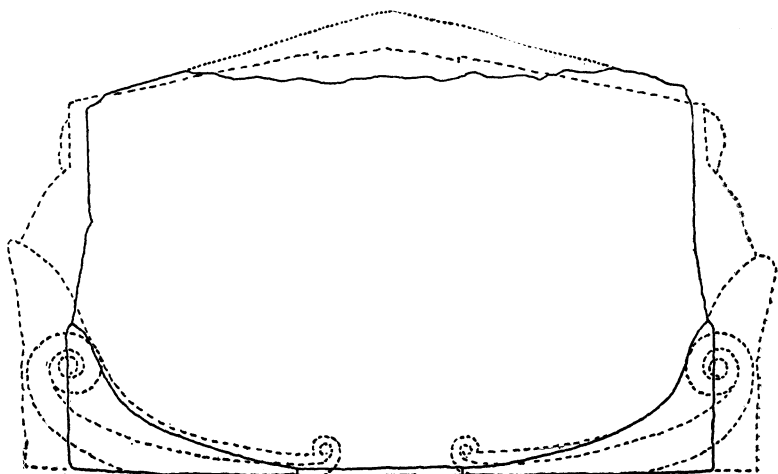


FIGURE 1.—SUPERIMPOSED OUTLINES OF THE TWO FRONTS.

dimensions and design of those on the companion piece, except for the small volutes at the inner terminations of the scrolls; and the addition of these ornaments makes the two fronts of equal width at the bottom. The comparatively slight variation between the two monuments in the width of the front at the top, and in the height at the ends and at the apex of the gable can be reasonably explained as due to differences in the composition of the reliefs. The group on the front of the Ludovisi relief is composed in such a way that the interest of the beholder is concentrated upon the central figure, and especially upon her upturned countenance framed by the interlocking arms and the bowed heads of the attendants. Though the figures cover almost the whole field, it is noteworthy that the backs of the stooping figures

do not extend to the lateral margins of the block, while their shoulders and heads must have touched, perhaps even have projected slightly above the sloping lines of the gable. Moreover, in order to get sufficient space for the woman at the right and for the figure on the adjoining wing, the sculptor has not hesitated to make that end of the block 2.5 cm. higher than the other (PLATE IV, A).

The three figures on the front of the Boston relief are composed according to a different scheme (PLATE IV, B). Here the central figure is subordinate; the attention of the spectator is inevitably directed to the two women and the varying emotions with which they watch the result of the weighing. The scene with its two seated figures spread apart by the large balance called for a background relatively broader and less high than that of the companion piece. The block is actually 9 cm. broader and 7 cm. lower at the centre. But this is not all. In order to accommodate the two seated figures it was necessary to render them on a somewhat smaller scale than those on the Roman relief, and to allow them to project some distance beyond the lateral margins of the background. As a result they were brought into connection with the architectural ornaments, which in the other monument were entirely separate members. It is obvious also that the height of relief adopted could not be less than the amount of projection of the two seated figures beyond the margin. On the monument in Rome, where the corners of the block were not hidden, the carving of the figures in somewhat lower relief gave a more pleasing effect.

The forms of the wings were similarly adapted to the single seated figures with which they were decorated. The heavily draped woman burning incense on the right wing of the Ludovisi relief is seated in such a way that her back does not reach the corner of the block; but its upper margin runs along the contour of her head as far as her forehead, and then continues in an oblique line, leaving just enough space for her hand. It is worth noting also that the lid of the thymiaterion must originally have projected slightly beyond the edge of the slab. The nude girl playing the flutes on the left wing is seated in a more easy pose, leaning back farther and with her legs crossed. The upper margin again follows the outline of her head, and continues in an oblique line nearly parallel with the flutes. Her right foot must have projected slightly beyond the end of the slab (PLATE V, A, B).

The right wing of the monument in Boston is 2.5 cm. wider

than those of the companion piece in their present state, but somewhat narrower than the latter would be with the missing angle ornaments restored. The back of the boy playing the lyre had to be brought close to the adjoining figure on the front. He sits at a higher level than the women on the wings of the other monument, and is consequently rendered on a slightly smaller scale. The different outline of the upper margin is obviously due to the lyre which the boy holds (PLATE V, D).

The most striking departure from architectural symmetry is afforded by the left wing of the monument in Boston. On it is represented an old woman seated on the ground with her legs drawn up; part of her body is concealed behind the ornament at the angle. She held up before her a mysterious object, which has been almost entirely chiselled away. It extended above her left hand almost to the upper margin; its lower portion projected beyond the end of the slab. The Ionic scroll must have projected still further, since it is reasonable to assume that it corresponded originally in length with that on the opposite wing (PLATE V, C).

This peculiar relation of the ornaments to the reliefs and of the reliefs to their backgrounds has been clearly summarized by Fothergill as follows: "The volutes and palmettes alone have any architectonic significance, and these are only ornaments on the top of some structure below. The shape of the mass of the marbles is prescribed by a line drawn over the outermost projections of the figures. The side representing the old woman is smaller than the other because she is in a huddled up position, and the gabled form of the fronts is the inevitable result of an ordinary pyramidal grouping of the figures. The background therefore is 'ideal space,' and for many reasons (its low pitch, its having had no cornice, its odd shape, and odder relation to the akroteria below) cannot be thought of as architectonic structure."<sup>1</sup>

This statement fails only to account for the akroteria on the apex and outer angles of both gables, for the existence of which there is clear evidence. The bedding for the central akroterion on the monument in Boston shows that it was of considerable size, and certainly of marble. The akroteria at the ends were supported only by thin cylindrical dowels. Studniczka has accordingly restored them in the form of doves with spread wings. The effect is, however, far from satisfactory. To modern taste,

<sup>1</sup> *Burl. Mag.* XVII, July 1910, p. 232.

at least, all three ornaments, whatever their forms may have been, seem superfluous and disturbing.

The foregoing analysis of the forms of the monuments makes it unnecessary to discuss at length some of the theories which have been advanced in explanation of the purpose for which they were made and their relation to one another. In the first publication of the Ludovisi relief Visconti suggested that it might have formed a parapet about an opening in a pavement, through which a flight of steps led to a subterranean chamber.<sup>1</sup> But this has been disproved by the discovery of the companion piece. Another theory according to which the reliefs were the ends of a sarcophagus is no more satisfactory.<sup>2</sup> The differences in dimensions forbid connecting the two reliefs as parts of one continuous structure. The top and end surfaces of the wings show no traces of having been cut down in later times; and it is difficult to see how the lid of the supposed sarcophagus could have rested on the two gabled ends, which do not correspond in outline, are not worked as surfaces of contact, and supported acroteria. Before the existence of the counterpart in Boston had become known, Petersen proposed to explain the Ludovisi monument as the upper part—the back and arms—of a large seat or throne. He brought it into connection with a colossal head of Aphrodite, also in the Ludovisi collection, and supposed that the statue and the throne, originally set up in the sanctuary of Aphrodite on Mount Eryx, were brought to Rome to adorn the temple of Venus Erycina, dedicated in 181 B.C.<sup>3</sup> This temple was situated outside the Porta Collina, near which the relief was found. Nothing is, however, known as to the finding place of the head of Aphrodite, which is of a different variety of marble, and carved in a somewhat more archaic style. Moreover the proportions of the relief are not those of a throne. The space between the two wings is much too shallow to accommodate the colossal statue. The arms could therefore have reached only a little more than half way towards the front of the seat. And the relation in height between the arms and the back is not what would be expected. Since the discovery of the relief in Boston the theory, which was formerly widely accepted, has lost favor. Petersen now holds that the two monuments formed the ends of a colossal couch

<sup>1</sup> *B. Com. Rom. l. c.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Studniczka, *l. c.* p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> *Röm. Mitt.* VII, 1892, pp. 33 ff.

which was set up in a temple of Aphrodite in connection with the cult of Adonis.<sup>1</sup> There is, however, no evidence to support this theory; and the two reliefs do not suggest the structural forms of the ends of a bed any more than they do those of a chair or throne.

The shape and decoration of the monuments are more satisfactorily accounted for by the theory, first proposed by Puchstein, and accepted by Marshall<sup>2</sup> and Studniczka,<sup>3</sup> that they were ornaments set on the narrow ends of a long, rectangular altar. Though close analogies are lacking, the volutes and the parapets rising above them are found separately on numerous representations of Greek altars, as well as on extant examples. The tops of altars were often formed like the pulvinus or cushion of the Ionic capital. An hellenistic altar excavated at Pergamum has volutes extending like horns, and turned upward as on the Boston relief.<sup>4</sup> In no instance, however, are pairs of volutes found both on the ends and on the sides. The best parallels to the angle ornaments are furnished by a series of archaic acroteria found in Miletus and its vicinity.<sup>5</sup> They are composed of a pair of up-turned volutes meeting in a right angle and supporting a palmette. In von Gerkan's restoration of the altar of Poseidon near Miletus these acroteria are placed on the corners of the coping surrounding the altar platform.<sup>6</sup> The reliefs have also been compared with the *κρατεῦραι* (low parapets or screens) which have been found at the ends of early Sicilian altars,<sup>7</sup> and are often shown in vase paintings. A fragment in the Palermo Museum, presumably from such a parapet, has mouldings above and below, and a cushion-like projection along the bottom of the inner face. If it has been correctly used by Koldewey and Puchstein in their restoration of the great altar of Zeus at Olympia,<sup>8</sup> it lends some support to the hypothesis that the three-sided reliefs were similar members on an altar of smaller dimensions.

<sup>1</sup> *Vom alten Rom*<sup>4</sup>, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> *Burl. Mag.* XVII, July 1910, p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> *L. c.* pp. 92 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Studniczka, *l. c.* p. 70, figs. 13, 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 66, 67, figs. 9-11.

<sup>6</sup> *Milet*, I, iv; 'Der Poseidonaltar bei Kap Monodendri,' von A. v. Gerkan. Pl. XXV.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Studniczka, *l. c.* p. 94, fig. 30.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Studniczka, *l. c.* p. 95, fig. 31.



This theory is however rejected by Kjellberg<sup>1</sup> and Amelung.<sup>2</sup> In the opinion of the former the comparatively slight weathering of the surfaces shows that the monuments cannot have stood in the open air throughout antiquity. Both Kjellberg and Amelung argue that the differences in dimensions are too great to permit placing the reliefs symmetrically upon a single rectangular base. The argument from the condition of the surface does not seem conclusive, since many Greek marbles which must have been exposed for several centuries show no greater weathering. And the slight variations in the width, height, and thickness of the

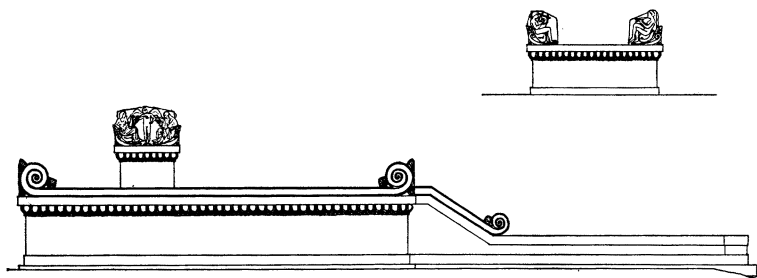


FIGURE 2.—THE RELIEFS AND THE ALTAR OF POSEIDON.

slabs would not be noticeable if the reliefs were set up some yards apart. It must be admitted that the angle ornaments in Studniczka's restoration of the Ludovisi monument project "like horns" in an unpleasant manner. But it would be difficult to design substitutes which would not project, and at the same time fit the curves at the bottom of the relief. Kjellberg proposes no alternative explanation; and Amelung reverts to the even less satisfactory theory of a throne.

The problem cannot as yet be regarded as solved, but the hypothesis that the reliefs decorated an altar affords a possible explanation and by far the most probable one yet imagined. Their appearance in such a position is suggested in Figure 2, showing them set on top of the altar of Poseidon near Miletus, the dimensions of which, as restored conjecturally by von Gerkan, happen to fit those of the reliefs almost exactly. Only scanty remains of this altar are preserved, and it belongs to a much earlier period. The acroterion from the Delphinium at Miletus is more

<sup>1</sup> *Ausonia*, VI, 1912, pp. 101 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In Helbig, *Führer*<sup>3</sup>, II, p. 79.

nearly contemporary; and the rough treatment of its rear surface, as well as the cuttings in the base just back of the volutes, suggests that it may also have had screens which were made separately.

## II

### THE SUBJECTS REPRESENTED BY THE RELIEFS

The groups on the fronts and the single seated figures on the wings of the two monuments are among the most interesting and at the same time the most baffling to be found in the whole repertory of Greek reliefs. None of the numerous attempts to interpret them has met with unqualified acceptance. It is evident that the figures have reference to some religious cult, but opinions differ as to whether they should be explained as human beings with a symbolical significance, or as actors in one or another of the Greek myths. Those who hold the former view see in the central figure on the front of the Ludovisi relief a woman in the act of childbirth,<sup>1</sup> while the two seated figures on the companion relief are "mortal women, and the action represented is symbolic of what to a Greek mind was the destiny of woman. . . . Eros, the great primeval divinity, is weighing out to the two wives the assurance of lineage . . . the continuance of the family in male line by a grown-up son."<sup>2</sup> The interpretation of the central figure on the Ludovisi relief as a woman in travail has been refuted by Studniczka with arguments that seem convincing. It is true that the custom of giving birth in a kneeling position was practised in ancient Greece. But, as Marshall admits, "Nothing whatever in the scene suggests childbirth to an uninitiated spectator." The woman does not appear to be kneeling, and the function of the drapery held before her cannot be satisfactorily explained. Nor is the hypothesis supported by any analogous representations in Greek art. And if it be rejected, Marshall's imaginative interpretation of the scene on the Boston relief must fall with it.

The mythological interpretations of the Ludovisi relief, with the exception of that of Klein, are based on the assumption that the central figure is rising into the light of day with the aid of the

<sup>1</sup> Robert, in Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*<sup>4</sup> I, 514, 1; Wolters, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1892, p. 227. Marshall, *l. c.* Cf. also Klein, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst*, I, p. 394, who explains the scene as a representation of Leto giving birth to Apollo and Artemis on the island of Delos.

<sup>2</sup> Marshall, *l. c.*

two attendants. The goddess is variously identified as Aphrodite rising out of the sea, as a fountain nymph, or as Pandora, Kore, or Ge rising out of the earth. The first of these interpretations has justly gained the widest popularity. Though not illustrated on extant contemporary monuments, it was represented by Phidias on the pedestal of the great statue of Zeus at Olympia. There, according to Pausanias, V, 11, 8, Aphrodite was received by Eros, and crowned by Peitho, whereas the two maidens on the



FIGURE 3.—ATTIC SCYPHUS: BOSTON.

relief are probably the Seasons, who are mentioned in the smaller Homeric hymn to Aphrodite as receiving the goddess from the waves:

τὴν δὲ χρυσάμπυκες Ὠραι  
δέξαντ' ἀσπασίως, περὶ δ' ἄμβροτα εἶματα ἔσσαν.

Robert's explanation of certain vase paintings as representations of the rising of fountain nymphs<sup>1</sup> has in its turn been relegated to the class of archaeological fairy tales by Furtwängler.<sup>2</sup> The rising of Ge, Persephone, and Pandora is frequently illustrated on vases. But the attending figures in these scenes are quite different in character and actions from

<sup>1</sup> *Archäologische Märchen*, pp. 179 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Jb. Arch. I. VI*, 1891, p. 113.

those on the relief, as Studniczka has observed, and as is strikingly illustrated by an Attic scyphus in Boston (Fig. 3).<sup>1</sup> Moreover, on the vases the ground from which the figure emerges is represented merely by a horizontal line, while the sloping ground in the relief and the pebbles which are realistically indicated on it suggest unmistakably a shelving beach. The drapery, which so beautifully masks the abrupt termination of the figure at the level of the thighs, has been plausibly explained by Studniczka as the lower part of the long, ungirt Ionic dress of the goddess.<sup>2</sup> Its upper part, as often in archaic Greek sculpture, is treated in a different manner. It clings closely to the form in little, rippling folds as if wet, and the two long tresses falling on the breast of the goddess also have a damp appearance. Whether this is intentional or merely a stylistic peculiarity, there is undoubtedly much in the relief which is in harmony with the theory, and nothing which contradicts it. A strong argument in its favor is also furnished by the subjects represented on the wings and on the front of the companion piece.

The smiling, winged boy holding the scales on the relief in Boston is unmistakably Eros, and the only acceptable interpretation of the scene yet proposed is that it represents the decision of the fate of Adonis. According to one version of the myth the dispute between Aphrodite and Persephone for the possession of the beautiful youth was settled by dividing the year into three parts, one to be spent with Aphrodite, another with Persephone, while Adonis was given freedom to choose where he would spend the third. And his choice was in favor of Aphrodite. The representation of this uneven partition by means of a balance and of the alternate fates as small figures of Adonis weighed against one another seems quite in keeping with Greek ideas. In the smiling goddess seated at the left, next to the heavier scale, who raises her hand in a gesture of pleased surprise, Studniczka recognizes Aphrodite, while the figure at the right, who rests her bowed head on her hand in an attitude expressing dejection and grief, is Persephone mourning the loss of Adonis. The pomegranate carved in low relief in the lower right hand corner of the

<sup>1</sup> Most recently published by Miss Swindler in *A.J.A.* XIX, 1915, p. 413, fig. 8. For other examples cf. Studniczka, *l. c.* pp. 108 ff., figs. 36-38, 40; Robert, *l. c.*; J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, pp. 276 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *L. c.* p. 114, figs. 43, 44. He might have cited as a parallel the scyphus in Boston just referred to, where the goddess holds up the ends of her dress herself.

monument was a fruit sacred to the Chthonian divinities, and thus a symbol appropriate to Persephone, and the fish in the opposite corner may well refer to the seaborne goddess. A somewhat different interpretation is proposed by Eisler,<sup>1</sup> who sees in the scene a more definite reference to the astronomic significance of the Phoenician myth of Adonis. According to him the balance represents the zodiacal constellation Libra which announced the approach of the autumnal equinox. The two small figures in the scales symbolize on the one hand Adonis sinking into the lower world at the coming of winter, on the other his rising in the spring. And the two seated figures, which are exactly alike in type and costume, represent a duplication of Aphrodite, mourning on the one side the departure of Adonis, and on the other rejoicing at his return.<sup>2</sup>

Among the other explanations which have been advanced that of Marshall has already been dismissed as depending entirely upon an erroneous interpretation of the Ludovisi relief. He is, however, perhaps right in regarding the fish and the pomegranate at the corners as not having any direct reference to the figures above them, especially as they are repeated on the two wings, but rather as emblems suggesting that "the ritual of the altar resembled in certain particulars that observed at Eleusis." The fish below the old woman on the left wing is a red mullet (*mullus surmuletus*), that on the front, as Studniczka has shown,<sup>3</sup> a grey mullet (*mugil cephalus*). Marshall observes that the former at least, as well as the pomegranate, was sacred to Hekate-Artemis, and forbidden fruit to the participants in the mysteries.

The scene has also been brought into connection with the story of the Trojan war, and explained as the *psychostasia*, or weighing of the souls of heroes, which is described in Homer<sup>4</sup> as taking place on Olympus before the fight between Achilles and Hector, and which formed the subject of a lost tragedy of Aeschylus dealing with the duel between Achilles and Memnon. The figure at the left would then be Thetis, and the sorrowing goddess either, as De Mot has suggested,<sup>5</sup> Aphrodite, who espoused the

<sup>1</sup> *Münch. Jb. Bild. K.* VII, 1912, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Gardner, *J.H.S.* XXXIII, 1914, p. 360, cites this reduplication of Aphrodite and Adonis as evidence of the late origin of the reliefs. But cf. Elderkin, *Art in America*, V, 1916-17, p. 280.

<sup>3</sup> *L. c.* p. 129, fig. 53.

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad*, XXII, 210 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *R. Arch.* XVII, 1911, p. 149.

cause of the Trojans, or Eos, the mother of Memnon, as has been proposed by Fairbanks.<sup>1</sup> In the numerous representations of this scene on vases<sup>2</sup> the weights in the scales are diminutive winged figures representing the souls of the heroes, or else warriors in the attitude of combat, and the holder of the scales is appropriately Hermes Psychagogos. The central figure on the relief, however, has none of the familiar attributes of Hermes, who is moreover never represented in Greek art as a half-grown, winged boy. De Mot would therefore call him Thanatos; but, as Studniczka observes, this is sufficiently disproved by his smiling countenance. The boy can only be Eros, and the myth, whether or not it has been correctly interpreted as the decision of the fate of Adonis, must be connected with the cult of Aphrodite, who is herself represented on the front of the companion piece, and whose votaries are probably to be recognized in the figures on the wings.

These four seated figures have been interpreted by most commentators as types of worshippers of the divinity in whose shrine the monuments were erected. Studniczka, however, connects them more intimately with the scenes on the fronts, and finds names for them all.<sup>3</sup> According to him the old woman is Hippolyte, the nurse of Myrrha, the mother of Adonis, holding a branch of the myrrh tree into which the nymph was transformed. The figure playing the lyre is Adonis himself. The flute player, seated opposite him on the other relief, is Aphrodite, "die sommerliche Göttin zur Hingabe an den Geliebten bereit." The woman burning incense is again Aphrodite, this time in the guise of a widow, bereft of Adonis. There are, however, serious difficulties in the way of accepting any of these ingenious identifications.

Let us begin with the slab on which the old woman is carved. The abnormal proportions of this wing, whatever their cause, belong to the original design. The background to the left of the figure shows no trace of reworking except near the front where some object must have projected beyond the margin. The unusual pose of the figure is due primarily to the narrowness of the slab. But it must also have been chosen by the artist as suited to the character he wished to portray; and that it was not originated by him is shown by the pictures of Aethra and a

<sup>1</sup> *B. Mus. F. A.* VIII, 1910, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> A list is given by Studniczka, *l. c.* pp. 132 ff.

<sup>3</sup> His interpretation is accepted by Elderkin, *Art in America*, *l. c.*

Trojan girl squatting on the ground on the Vivenzio hydria (Fig. 4). To return to Studniczka's theory. One wonders why the nurse should figure so prominently in the story. And the tree, on which her identification depends, although cleverly reconstructed from the traces of an object which has been chiselled away, was probably not a tree at all. These traces suggest a somewhat different restoration, and explain the omission of the woman's left forearm, a peculiar detail which Studniczka does not discuss. The present condition of the end of the relief is shown



FIGURE 4.—SEATED WOMEN ON THE VIVENZIO VASE.

in the drawings, Figure 5. The woman's right knee has been entirely reworked, and the lower margin of the reworked surface is horizontal, which would not be the case if the object removed had been a branch curving up from the trunk of the tree. Studniczka's restoration is inaccurate in this respect. Moreover, the traces of reworking on the end of the slab at this level extend farther back from the front edge than they do immediately below, suggesting that the marble which has been removed projected farther from the margin of the relief at this point. When these bits of evidence are considered in connection with the missing forearm and hand, it becomes highly probable, if not certain, that the arm is to be imagined as bent at the elbow and held between the knees with the hand projecting somewhat as indicated in Figure 5. This disposes of the tree, but unfortunately without supplying a satisfactory alternative. Marshall's suggestion that

the woman held a branch as a suppliant hardly accounts for the poses of the two hands or for the traces on the lower part of the slab. And Petersen's theory that the woman is a midwife, holding some implement of her profession, seems far-fetched.<sup>1</sup> Nor does it seem possible that the object was a large phallus.

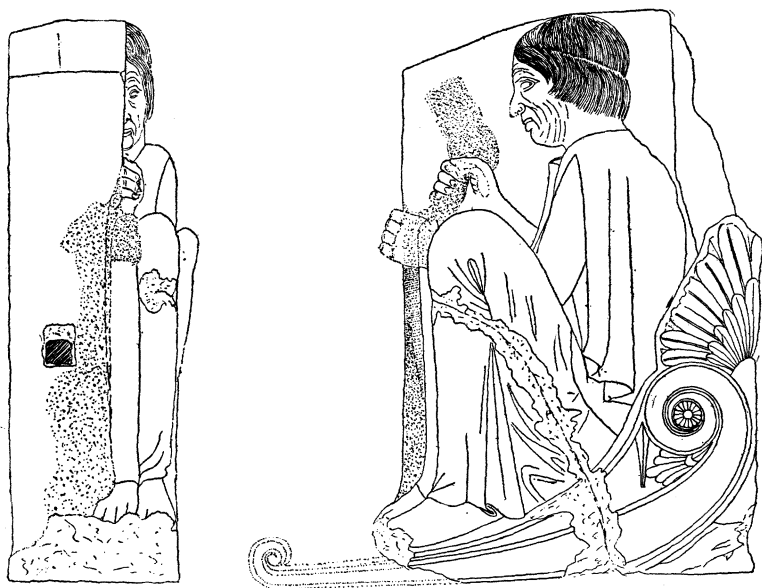


FIGURE 5.—THE LEFT WING OF THE BOSTON RELIEF.

Such an old woman might appropriately be represented as working with wool, though in this case one looks for a ritual, rather than an everyday act. The outlines of the object held in the right hand do not resemble a distaff, such as is clearly represented on the stele from Tyrnavo, a contemporary work of the North Greek School.<sup>2</sup> It might be a mass of unprepared wool, which the woman was drawing out to form the preliminary thread, which was afterwards wound upon the distaff to be spun. But, as Hauser has shown,<sup>3</sup> Greek women usually performed this operation by rubbing the wool against their bare leg, or against a terra-cotta implement, the *epinetron* or *onos*, laid over the knee.

<sup>1</sup> *Vom alten Rom*<sup>4</sup>, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* XV, 1890, pl. IV, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Jh. Oest. Arch.* I. XII, 1909, pp. 80 ff.



And the traces on the lower part of the slab hardly suggest the basket which is generally represented in these scenes. The problem still awaits a solution.

The significance of the figure, however, does not depend entirely on the nature of the attribute. The artist has employed all the resources at his command to represent a woman far advanced in years, and apparently of humble rank in society. While the other three figures are seated on cushions, she sits in a huddled up position on the ground. Her feet are bare; her hair is cut short; she wears a simple Doric dress. The ravages of age are seen in the wrinkles on her face and hand, in the profile with its hooked nose, its lips suggesting toothless gums, its sagging chin, and in the way in which the bones of the shoulders show through the wasted flesh. Such realism in a work of transitional Greek sculpture is a startling phenomenon, though by no means unique. The figure of the "seer" from the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia is at exactly the same stage of artistic development, and treated with the same sort of realism. One is tempted, however, to cite as the closest parallel to the old woman, not a work of Greek sculpture at all, but a passage from Villon's famous poem, "*Regrets de la belle Heaulmière jà parvenue à vieillesse*," from which De Mot has already quoted one line in this connection. The last three stanzas read, in places, almost like a description of the old woman on the relief:

Le front ridè, les cheveux gris,  
 Les sourcils cheux, les yeux estainctz,  
 Qui faisoient regars et ris,  
 Dont maintz marchans furent attainctz;  
 Nez courbé, de beaulté loingtains;  
 Oreilles pendans et moussues;  
 Le vis pally, mort et destainctz;  
 Menton foncé, lèvres peaussues;

C'est d'humaine beaulté l'yssues!  
 Les bras courts et les mains contraictes,  
 Les épaules toutes bossues;  
 Mammelles, quoy! toutes retraictes,  
 Telles les hanches que les tettes,  
 Du sadinet, fy! Quant des cuysse,  
 Cuysses ne sont plus, mais cuyssettes.  
 Grivelées comme saulcisses.

Ainsi le bon temps regrettons  
 Entre nous, pouvres vieilles sottes,  
 Assises bas, à croppetons,  
 Tout en ung tas comme pelottes.  
 A petit feu de chenevottes.  
 Tost allumées, tost estainctes;  
 Et jadis fusmes si mignottes! . . .  
 Ainsi en prend à maintz et maintes. (*Edit. Jannet.*)

The analogy is of course not to be pressed too far; but that the Greek sculptor was striving to express, with his much more limited means, somewhat the same idea as the French poet, is, I think, indicated by his insistence, to a degree quite exceptional in the art of his day, on the disfiguring marks of extreme old age.

The strongest possible contrast is afforded by the figure of the flute player on the left wing of the Ludovisi relief. Here we have *la belle Heaulmière* in her youth. But to return from Villon to Studniczka. The representation of the female form completely

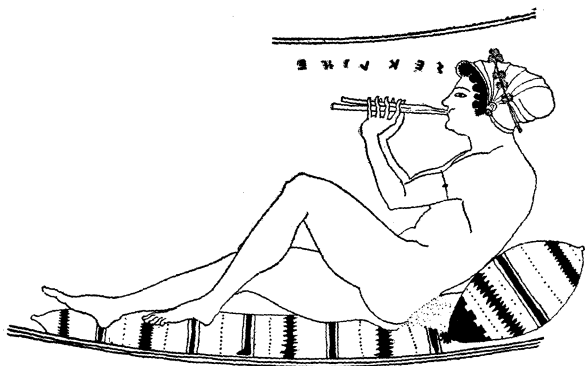


FIGURE 6.—FLUTE-PLAYER ON PETROGRAD PSYCTER.

nude in a work of sculpture of the transitional period is a most surprising phenomenon, but not nearly so surprising as the theory which sees in this flute-playing girl, lolling at ease with her legs crossed,<sup>1</sup> with puckered lips and cheeks puffed out, with wisps of

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Paton calls my attention to Aristophanes, *Clouds* l. 983, where the well brought-up boys of the earlier generation are described as being taught when at table οὐδ' ἴσχειν τὴν πόδ' ἐναλλάξ. It may be inferred that such an attitude was regarded as even more unseemly for women. Penelope, in the Vatican statue and on the Chiusi scyphus, and Electra on the Melian relief, *Mon. dell' Inst.*

hair escaping untidily from under her cap, a representation of Aphrodite herself instead of one of her humbler votaries. A recent writer on Euphronios estimates too highly the fame which that vase painter enjoyed in his own generation when she assumes that the Ludovisi flute player was copied from the hetaira "Sekline" on the Petrograd psykter which was painted some twenty years earlier<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 6). But the comparison which has often been made between these two figures is very much to the point: one is as unmistakably meant to represent a courtesan as the other.

It is equally difficult to believe, with Studniczka, that a Greek would have recognized Aphrodite in the woman burning incense—an act of ritual performed in her own honor. The two figures on the wings of the Ludovisi relief are far more satisfactorily explained as types of human worshippers of the goddess—a courtesan and a married woman. The incense burner is not a "bride" as Petersen called her, nor a "widow" as it is now the fashion to designate her, for there is nothing in her costume to suggest the former, as Nillson has pointed out,<sup>2</sup> nor in her expression to suggest the latter. Nor does there seem to be justification for regarding the figures as symbolical of the different seasons of the year, as has been proposed by several commentators.<sup>3</sup> It is hard to see how to a modern mind, and still less to a Greek mind, the contrast between a nude and a draped figure should of itself suggest a variation in temperature.

We come finally to the lyre player on the right wing of the

VI, 1861, Pl. LVII, 1, sit with their legs crossed. But both are depicted under the stress of strong emotion and careless of their outward appearance. They are thus exceptions which help to prove the rule. The woman playing the lyre on the Melian relief in the British Museum, *Catalogue of Terra-Cottas*, B. 367, Pl. XIX, is evidently an hetaira, not Sappho, as she has sometimes been called.

<sup>1</sup> E. Radford, *J.H.S.* XXXV, 1915, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> *Röm. Mitt.* XXI, 1906, pp. 307 ff.

<sup>3</sup> E. A. Gardner, *J.H.S.* XXXIII, 1913, p. 75, for whom the figures on the sides "evidently have reference to the seasons of summer and winter, whether we prefer to describe them as Nymphs or Horae." Cf. also Studniczka, *l. c.* p. 192, "Das andere Mal als traurige Witwe wie fröstelnd eingehüllt," and Eisler, *l. c.* p. 79, "Die trauervolle Einsamkeit der verhüllten Priesterinnen am winterlichen Opferfeuer." Elderkin, *l. c.* p. 284, is under the influence of the same idea when he suggests that the two nude figures were placed on the sunny south side of the altar, and the two draped women on the north side. But what evidence we have as to the orientation of Greek altars forces us to place these figures on the east and west faces.

relief in Boston. Is he Adonis himself in the guise of a full-grown youth, "reif für sein flötendes Gegenüber," as Studniczka would have us believe,—a sort of "Rosenkavalier,"—or is he a boy "modest and dutiful, playing a lyre because he is of school age, and music is the main thing he learns," as Marshall interprets him. The figure is actually smaller than the old woman or the women on the wings of the Ludovisi relief, who are all represented on one scale. The difference, however, is hardly apparent, and may be due to the dimensions of the background and to the pose selected by the artist. Yet the very fact that he sits up more stiffly tells in favor of Marshall's interpretation. An interesting parallel is furnished by the drawing on an unpublished lecythus in Boston, reproduced in Figure 7.<sup>1</sup> This muscular youth with down on his cheeks, who leans far back and lifts his head, carried away by the music he is making, would form a more appropriate companion to the flute player. The distinction drawn by Studniczka between the lyre player and the Eros as regards bodily development is not very apparent. Neither shows markedly childlike characteristics, as could indeed hardly be expected of a sculptor of this period. In short, the significance of the lyre player seems to have been more truly comprehended by Marshall.



FIGURE 7.—FROM A LECYTHUS  
IN BOSTON.

Since the discovery of the monument in Boston there has been a tendency to pair off the two musicians as bright and joyous figures, and to associate the incense burner with the old woman because of their supposed brooding and sadness. While this is legitimate, it seems to me that a different grouping brings out more clearly the character of the four figures. The matron and the boy show modesty, earnestness, and reverence, qualities which are lacking in the fluteplayer. The lyre player recalls the descrip-

<sup>1</sup> Museum of Fine Arts, *Annual Report*, 1913, p. 91.

tion by the *Δίκαιος Λόγος* in the *Clouds* of the discipline and careful education received by Greek boys in the good old days. Delicacy and aristocratic refinement are suggested by the profile of the incense burner, by the rendering of her hands, which are in strong contrast to the coarser hands and wrists of the hetaira,<sup>1</sup> and by all the lines of her body and limbs as they are revealed through the tightly-wrapped himation. The flute player and the old woman, on the other hand, are people of a lower social stratum, and rendered with quite a different *ἦθος*. In addition to this contrast between the two pairs of figures, that between the courtesan and the wife on the Ludovisi relief still holds good, and it is balanced on the counterpart in Boston by a contrast between youth and old age.

The four figures of worshippers thus attest the universality of the cult of the life giving goddess. All the subtle responses and contrasts which they suggest cannot be adequately described in words. But it has seemed worth while to call attention to them, not only because this power of portraying diversified characters constitutes one of the chief charms of the reliefs, but also because it is a new phenomenon in Greek art. In the following section it will be necessary to consider whether this quality appears only in these reliefs or whether it is also to be recognized in other contemporary works, and if so to seek for the source from which it was derived.

### III

#### THE TECHNIQUE AND STYLE OF THE RELIEFS

The Ludovisi relief has been ascribed by Petersen to the Attic School, and connected tentatively with the artist Calamis, a theory which is accepted by Reinach and others.<sup>2</sup> Marshall, because of the indication of the stony soil on the Ludovisi relief and of the volutes on the companion piece, assigns them to an Ionic school. Amelung also classes them as Ionic, and Studniczka labels them Attic-Ionic. But these terms have only a vague meaning, especially as applied to works of the transitional period, when Athens had become the recognized leader of Ionic Greece. The extant contemporary sculptures most suitable for comparison are not the statues which are assigned on more or less (usually

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mrs. R. B. Perry for calling my attention to this point.

<sup>2</sup> Petersen, *Röm. Mitt.* VII, 1892, pp. 68, 78; Reinach, *Gaz. B.-A.* VII, 1912, p. 69.

less) probable grounds to one or another of the famous sculptors of the day, but rather the decorative architectural sculptures and the grave reliefs.

Very little material of this kind is furnished by Athens itself. Attic grave reliefs, of which there are abundant examples for the pre-Persian period and from the Periclean age downward, are entirely lacking for the years 480–450 B.C. Aside from the small relief of the "Mourning Athena," the Lanckoronsky relief of Athena<sup>1</sup>, and a beautiful female head published by Furtwängler<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 8), it would be difficult to cite a single

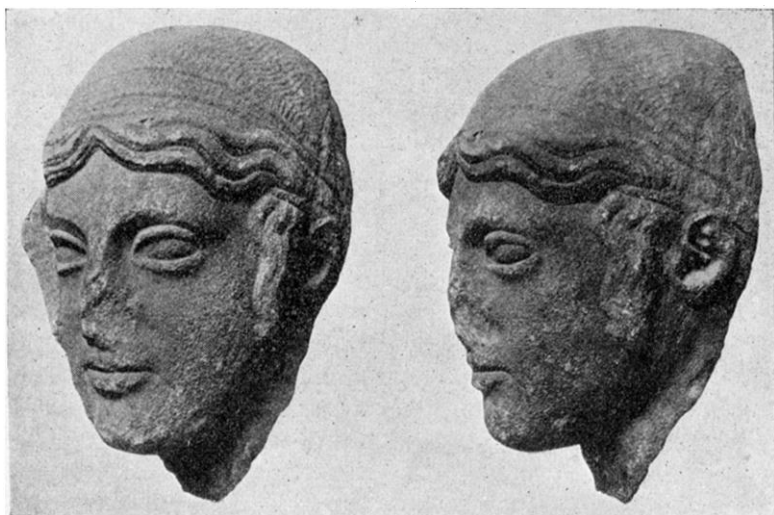


FIGURE 8.—FEMALE HEAD IN ATHENS.

example of Attic sculpture in relief. On the other hand many grave reliefs of this period have been found in various regions of northern Greece. And, while these are for the most part of inferior merit, their uniform characteristics led Brunn to assign them to a local North Greek school which in his opinion was strongly influenced by the fresco painters of the time.<sup>3</sup> By far the closest parallel to the reliefs in question is furnished

<sup>1</sup> Published by Schrader, *Jh. Oest. Arch. I.* XVI, 1913, Pl. I.

<sup>2</sup> *Εφ. 'Αρχ.* 1901, p. 143, pl. VIII. Cf. Schrader, *l. c.* p. 58, fig. 61, who believes it to be from a metope of the Parthenon.

<sup>3</sup> 'Paionios und die nordgriechische Kunst,' *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 184 ff. 'Die Skulpturen von Olympia,' *Ibid.* pp. 201 ff.

by the beautiful stele of a girl holding a dove in the Conservatori Museum (Fig. 9), which has been ascribed by several authorities



FIGURE 9.—STELE IN CONSERVATORI MUSEUM.

to the same North Greek School.<sup>1</sup>

Another grave relief of slightly later date, and also of unknown provenience—the Giustiniani stele in Berlin<sup>2</sup>—resembles the reliefs in several details of style and execution, not to mention the striking similarity to the incense burner in the pose of the head and the arms (Fig. 10.) Among architectural sculptures the metopes from the temple of Hera at Selinus are contemporary, but poorly preserved and different in material and technique. A wealth of illustrative material is, however, furnished by the metopes and pedimental groups of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. Finally, in view of the relation of early Greek relief sculpture to painting, it is natural to seek for analogies in the designs on Attic red-figured vases of the severe style, and among them not so much in the works of Euphronios and his fellows as in the series of vases dated approximately between 465 and 450 B.C., which show the influence of the great transitional frescoes.

But, it may be asked, how can works like the Olympia sculp-

<sup>1</sup> Koepp, *Röm. Mitt.* I, 1886, p. 126. Helbig, *Führer*<sup>2</sup> I, p. 408. Amelung, *ibid.*<sup>3</sup> I, p. 558. Hauser, in Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, II, p. 311. For a dissenting opinion cf. Studniczka, *l. c.* p. 175. Ghirardini, *B. Com. Rom.* 1883, pp. 153-161, called the relief Attic.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant. Denk.* Pl. 33, 2. Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 417 c. Cf. *Register*, p. 57, where Arndt ascribes it tentatively to the North Greek school.

tures, which are so different in purpose, size, technique, and feeling, be expected to throw any light upon the reliefs in question, especially since the latter are "Ionic," and the former are often classed as "Peloponnesian"? There is, however, at least one resemblance between them: both sets of sculptures contain numerous peculiar features which have made it difficult to assign them to their place in the historic development of Greek art. In the case of the Olympia sculptures this is shown by the fact that they have been variously attributed to northern Greeks, Athenians, Argives, Sicyonians, Corinthians, Eleans, Sicilians, Parians, —the list, in fact, approaches the length of an Homeric catalogue of ships. Most of these theories are not worth examining, but that one of them which somewhat vaguely assigns the sculptures to Peloponnesian artists has enjoyed the support of several authorities, and has been quite generally accepted in the handbooks of Greek sculpture. Studniczka, for example, still holds them to be "nach wie vor echt peloponnesisch,"<sup>1</sup> and he does this after Hauser's publication of the two craters of the Polygnotan period in New York, which goes so far towards rehabilitating the brilliant hypothesis of Brunn that the sculptors of the



FIGURE 10.—GIUSTINIANI STELE:  
BERLIN.

<sup>1</sup> *L. c.* p. 191.



Olympia pediments and metopes belonged to a North Greek school under the dominating influence of Polygnotus.<sup>1</sup>

Curiously enough, if one takes the trouble to look through the literature on these sculptures, one finds only the briefest possible statements of the Peloponnesian theory, sometimes made with a promise that the question is to be dealt with more fully on a later occasion,—a promise which, however, is never kept. Perhaps the most complete presentation of the theory, though now in some respects out of date as its author has recently remarked,<sup>2</sup> is that of Studniczka covering four pages of the *Römische Mitteilungen* (Vol. II, 1887, pp. 53–57). The points on which he chiefly relies are the costume worn by the female figures and the rendering of the nude male form. The naïvely naturalistic arrangement of the folds of the drapery he passes over lightly as being only “a mark of the epoch which begins to imitate nature strictly in everything.” What seems to him more significant is that with the single exception of the Lapith bride (O) in the west pediment all the women wear the Doric peplos. This style of dress, originally worn by all the Greeks, but supplanted for a time by the Ionic linen chiton, returned to use soon after the Persian wars. “But the Ionic dress does not entirely disappear; it continues to be used side by side with the Doric in a freer form. This stage is represented by the art of Phidias, of whom in this and in other respects Polygnotus was a predecessor.” On the other hand in the severe period of Attic vase painting (510–460 B.C.) “the archaic Ionic dress still predominates.” From this he infers, reasonably enough, that the Doric dress was revived earlier in the Peloponnesian, and then jumps to the conclusion that the majority of the sculptures executed in the first half of the fifth century in which this dress appears must be ascribed to a Peloponnesian school. But it is manifestly unfair to use as evidence Attic vases which are contemporary with the Aegina pediments, and to neglect the vases of the Polygnotan period on which examples of the Doric peplos are by no means uncommon. Furtwängler, who dates the beginning of this style of vases about 465 B.C., gives a long, but by no means exhaustive list of figures on them wearing the Doric dress.<sup>3</sup> This list includes numerous examples of the peplos with long, overgirt apoxygma which was

<sup>1</sup> *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, II, pls. 116–119, pp. 297 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Studniczka, *l. c.* p. 191, note 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Masterpieces*, p. 24, note 6.

favored by Myron and Phidias, but is not found on works of known Peloponnesian origin,—aside from the Olympia pediments where it occurs thrice.<sup>1</sup> The combination of both costumes on the Artemis of the Selinus metope Studniczka explains by the theory that these works show in general many traces of Ionic influence; but such an argument could also be reversed, and applied to the Olympia sculptures. He also refrains from mentioning the well known relief of the three Graces, the original of which is held to be an Attic work of 470 B.C.,<sup>2</sup> and on which two out of the three figures wear the Doric costume. Moreover, of the seven draped figures on the Ludovisi relief and its companion piece, two are dressed in the Doric fashion, and no one would on this account ascribe the works to a Doric sculptor under strong Ionic influence. And how would Studniczka account for the Doric dresses of the two girls on the relief from Pharsalus in the Louvre? An unprejudiced examination of the monuments shows only that the peplos came into general use again during the transitional period; it does not show that the sculptures of this time can be summarily labelled "Ionic" or "Doric" according as the figures wear Ionic or Doric garments. Thus Studniczka's chief argument is seen to be inconclusive, to say the least.

What of the second argument,—the rendering of the nude form in which the Peloponnesian sculptors especially excelled? Studniczka's description of the male figures among the Olympia sculptures can hardly be called enthusiastic: "If one excepts very imperfect works like the seated boy, or an intentional imitation of the relaxed forms of old age, and takes as a norm the quiet figures such as Zeus, Pelops, Oenomaus, and Apollo, in my opinion we cannot deny to the artists a clear understanding of the principal forms and their connection. . . . Moreover, in pedimental statues, exhibited in an elevated position and brilliantly illuminated, this summary execution, which, by suppressing details, brings out more clearly the principal forms, is even more advantageous than the *καταρῆξις*, the excessive refinement of the Aeginetan sculptures." All this, however, does not bring us very close to the athletic art of the Peloponnesian school, nor to Ageladas, the master of Myron and Polyclitus. It is perhaps fair to expect that a nude male figure by a Peloponnesian sculptor

<sup>1</sup> East pediment O; west pediment B and U.

<sup>2</sup> For a bibliography cf. Amelung, *Die Skulpturen des vaticanischen Museums*, I, *Museo Chiaramonti*, No. 360, p. 547.

of 460 B.C., even one designed for a pediment, should show a greater advance from the stage illustrated by the Attic pre-Persian statue of an ephebe from the Acropolis. The quietly standing figures, on which Studniczka bases his argument, are in fact less advanced, and consequently less significant, than the figures which show an attempt at realism in the rendering of old age (East N) or in the rendering of violent action and complicated poses which accentuate anatomical details.<sup>1</sup> And for such figures the athletic statues of the school of Ageladas, as far as is known, furnished no models,—except those of his pupil, Myron, who was an Athenian. Moreover, the flesh of all the figures is treated in a soft manner, as if it were covered by a layer of fat. In this respect it resembles the North Greek reliefs (as Brunn perceived) and the nude figures on the two reliefs here discussed; but it is in striking contrast to the hard, dry modelling of the Aeginetan pedimental figures, the tyrannicides, the works of Myron, and some of the Parthenon metopes. Finally, there is hardly a trace of the influence of the technique of bronze, which might be expected if the pediments were made by members of the Peloponnesian School. The argument from the style of the nude figures is thus seen to be even weaker than that from the style of the dress.

Fortunately it is now possible to do more than eliminate the Peloponnesian School as the chief influence on the style of the Olympia sculptures, and to offer a more satisfactory solution of the problem. As has been remarked above, Hauser with the help of fresh evidence from vase paintings has rescued Brunn's theory from the disrepute in which it had lain for many years, and presented it in a new form, laying less emphasis on the North Greek sculptures and more on the influence of Polygnotus. The same point of view will be adopted in the following analysis of the technique and style of the Ludovisi and Boston reliefs.

Before embarking on this, however, one more seeming obstacle remains to be cleared away. In a recent volume of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*<sup>2</sup> Professor E. A. Gardner has published an attack on the authenticity of the relief in Boston as a companion piece to the Ludovisi relief; and, though this has already been an-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Heracles in the Cretan bull metope; the river gods, A and B, in the east pediment; the seated boy, E, in the same pediment; the Lapiths, C and T, in the west pediment.

<sup>2</sup> *J.H.S.* XXXIII, 1913, pp. 73-83; cf. also p. 360.

swered by Norton,<sup>1</sup> it cannot be entirely passed over in silence here. The logic of his argument is weakened by his inability to decide whether the relief is a modern forgery, a product of the neo-Attic school, or a fifth century work from the hand of a sculptor of inferior merit and different traditions. He also reveals a very superficial acquaintance with the monument discussed, and a novel archaeological method. Any characteristic which appears to him to be without parallels (though exact parallels are to be found in almost every case) is used as an argument against the genuineness of the relief. And, on the other hand, every point of resemblance to the Ludovisi relief or other contemporary works helps to prove that the relief in Boston is "imitative and eclectic." Curiously enough the Olympia sculptures are not once mentioned in the course of his article. As a sample of his reasoning we may take his discussion of the scales and the diminutive figures standing in them. These he finds to be "the most remarkable things in the whole relief," and to them he has appropriately devoted the most remarkable paragraph in his whole essay. He is disturbed by the fact that "the cone in which these figures stand is formed by filling in the space between the strings supporting the scale of the balance, a peculiar convention for which I know no parallel in ancient or modern art, nor is any quoted by Studniczka." He forgets for the moment that *the background in any relief is a convention*, which would seem to relieve Studniczka from the obligation of citing parallels. The only imaginable alternative in the present instance would have been to make the strings of wire, and to place bronze statuettes in the pans of the scales!

He objects also to the technique of the two small figures, but since the only example he cites of the genuine Greek method of carving such figures is the relief on the throne of the priest of Dionysus in the theatre at Athens—a work of uncertain date which has never been placed earlier than the latter part of the fourth century—this objection may be passed over as of no great weight.

It is difficult also to see the point of his comparison of the right hand figure with the hanging Marsyas of Pergamene art, since the only resemblance consists in the fact that both figures are suspended. Nor do the proportions and character of the figures remind one so much of the works of Burne-Jones, as they do of

<sup>1</sup> *J.H.S.* XXXIV, 1914, pp. 66-75.

the athletes depicted by Brygos<sup>1</sup> or of details on the Ludovisi relief itself. The feet of the right hand figure resemble those of the Hours so closely as to furnish an argument that both reliefs were made in the same atelier, if not by the same hand; and the sketchy indication of the outline of the ribs in the left hand youth would not have been a difficult feat for the sculptor who has left us so wonderful a study of a suspended frontal figure as the Aphrodite on the Ludovisi relief.

The real trouble is with the subject, not with the way in which it is treated. The motive, though frequently represented on vase paintings, is not paralleled in sculpture. But, given the motive, it must be admitted that the artist has surmounted its difficulties with rare skill. The balance was such an important feature that it had to be made large in order not to seem ridiculous. And for the double reason of making it not unduly conspicuous and of avoiding the appearance of too great fragility, it was advisable to connect it as far as possible with the relief figures. This was accomplished by making the beam rest against the chest and arms of the Eros and by placing the weights in contact with the legs of the seated figures.

It seems unnecessary to give a detailed criticism of the whole of Gardner's article. Some of his statements will, however, be discussed in the course of the analysis of the reliefs, for which the way has now at last been prepared.

### *1. The Treatment of the Surfaces of the Relief, and the Poses of the Figures*

The figures in the monument in Boston are carved in somewhat higher relief than those on the companion piece in Rome; and the difference is manifestly due to the composition of the weighing scene on the front. For the seated figures, spread apart by the large balance, necessarily projected beyond the ends of the background, and the height of relief had to be approximately equal to the amount of projection. It also facilitated the carving of the central figure in a frontal pose. According to Gardner there is also another and more important difference in the treatment of the relief surfaces on the two monuments. "The Boston relief," in his opinion, "shows no trace whatever of the principle that Greek relief is compressed as it were between two planes, the

<sup>1</sup> A point already brought out by Studniczka, *l. c.* p. 167. Cf. also the jumpers on the Brygan scyphus in Boston, *A.J.A.* XIX, 1915, pl. VII, VIII.

plane of the background and the original front plane of the slab." Norton also admits that the front plane is less thoroughly kept than in the Ludovisi relief. But this criticism is not justified by the facts. The supposed abnormalities which Gardner points out are all in the figure of Eros, and are all explained by the difficulty of rendering a relief figure in direct front view—a problem rarely attempted by a transitional sculptor. Whatever clumsiness there may be in the Eros is not due to any disregard of the principles of Greek relief, but to their strict observance. The figure is on a smaller scale than the others and is therefore in relatively higher relief. *It nowhere projects beyond the ideal front plane;* but the background slopes backward slightly towards the top, and inward from the sides to the centre. As a result the projection of the head is 10.5 cm., as compared with 8 cm. on the rest of the monument, and 6 cm. on the companion piece. The Eros is thus in rather high relief, and may fairly be compared with the Olympia metopes.<sup>1</sup> These include at least two figures—the Hesperid in the Atlas metope and the Athena in the Augean stables metope—whose bodies are in direct front view. Their heads are in profile because they are interested in the action depicted at one side of them, whereas the function of the holder of the scales demanded that his head should be in front view. The problem of rendering the legs was simplified in the case of the women on the metopes by the garments which cover them. But a certain stiffness, due to the unusual pose, is observable. The knees of the Eros are "almost in the round"; but so are the knees of Heracles in several of the metopes. His head also is in the round, as is usual in high reliefs; and the Olympia metopes again offer several parallels. The face is flattened somewhat into one plane, illustrating a survival of the early artist's tendency to carve an object as if it existed only in two dimensions. The rendering of the feet has also been censured by Gardner; but the problem has been solved in the way in which the sculptors of the Olympia metopes solved it, as is shown by three of the figures on the metopes just cited, and, moreover, in a way which scrupulously observes the ideal front plane.

According to Gardner, "The heads of all three figures on the front and the upper parts of the bodies of the two seated figures

<sup>1</sup> The height of the figure (0.915 m.) is 8.7 times the height of relief of the head. In the Olympia metopes the height (1.60 m.) is 6.4 times the height of relief (0.25 m.).

are in three-quarter face." But this is again inaccurate, as Norton has noted. Only one head—that of the sorrowing goddess—is in three-quarter face. Its pose is characteristic of the period, being illustrated not only in vase paintings but in several of the Olympia metopes. The head of Eros is inclined, but not turned to the side. The head of Aphrodite is exactly in profile. Her face is carved in a somewhat unusual manner, the explanation for which is, however, perfectly plain. The profile is seen, not against the background (which ideally represents empty space), but against her himation. To avoid the awkward effect of having her drapery seem to grow out of the middle of her face, the sculptor has hollowed out the background slightly. As a result part of the left side of her face is shown. Several heads in profile on the Olympia metopes show more than half of the face. As to the bodies it is difficult to see how any one could describe them as being in three-quarter view. The combination of the direct front view of the upper parts of the seated figures with the direct profile view of their legs is, in fact, the most archaic feature of the reliefs. Both breasts of each figure are practically in the front plane. And they do not "rise directly towards the front," but are "turned outwards so as to show in profile" almost as much as in the central figure of the Ludovisi relief, where the further exaggeration of this feature is due to the suspended pose. The ideal front plane, though less conspicuous than on the Ludovisi monument with its lower relief and fewer vacant spaces, is rigidly observed throughout.

## 2. *The Ornaments at the Angles*

The acroteria are composed of the familiar elements of Ionic architectural ornament. If the two sides of the palmette and the supporting volutes are imagined as being in one plane with the lower terminations of the scrolls shortened, the result resembles the usual type of antefix as well as the finials of archaic grave stelae. And in their actual form the ornaments find close analogies in the acroteria from the vicinity of Miletus already referred to. All the details can be paralleled in similar ornaments of the late archaic period. But some of them are treated in a new spirit. The indication of a mid-rib on the larger leaves, their delicately curled surfaces, and the doubly curved profile of the palmettes reveal a tendency to adapt these conventionalized motives to actual forms of plant life. The rosette, also, which

decorates the eye of the volute, is a real flower, apparently a daisy. In this respect the ornaments mark a great advance from such works as the tops of sixth century grave stelae from Samos,<sup>1</sup> and even from the acroteria of the temple of Aphaia. Their style thus harmonizes perfectly with the date 470–460 B.C. to which the two monuments are generally assigned. And, as De Mot has justly remarked, the unrivalled freshness and delicacy of their execution would furnish incontestable proof of the authenticity of the relief, if such were needed.<sup>2</sup>

### 3. *The Figures*

With the exception of the head of the old woman, and with due allowance for variations in pose and expression, all the heads on the two monuments are closely allied in type. The profiles show a low forehead, forming a very slight angle with the nose, full lips, and a prominent rounded chin, which is heavier in the rising Aphrodite and the lyre player than in the other figures. The eyes are set a little more deeply than in archaic works, but in the heads in profile they are still shown almost in front view. The eye-ball is fairly convex. The lids are heavy and sharply defined; and they meet at the outer corner without any overlapping, as they actually do in the eyes of young children, and in all Greek sculpture down to 450 B.C. The eyes in the Olympia sculptures and the Giustiniani stele are at exactly the same stage, while the eye in the Conservatori stele is slightly more archaic. The ears also, of which there is one example on the Ludovisi relief and three on the relief in Boston, are all alike, both as regards shape and delicately realistic execution. They are characterized especially by their breadth, by the size and depth of the opening, and by the smallness of the lobule.

The hair, though its arrangement varies to suit the character of the different figures, is rendered in the same technique throughout. The texture of the strands or curls is represented by means of finely engraved parallel lines. The hair of the rising Aphrodite falls in delicately rippled strands, each with three or four fine striations, while the strands themselves are separated by deeper engraved lines. The short, straight hair of the old woman is carved in identically the same manner, as are also the looped strands which show below the caps of the two seated goddesses

<sup>1</sup> Boehlau, *Aus ionischen Nekropolen*, pl. I.

<sup>2</sup> De Mot, *R. Arch.* XVII, 1911, p. 149.



and the incense burner. A similar loop appears above the forehead of the flute player, while another lock hangs loosely before her ear. The long hair of the Eros is arranged in two braids which are wound around his head, and tied together in front in the manner illustrated by the well-known pre-Persian head of a youth from the Athenian Acropolis, the Apollo of the Omphalos, the seated Zeus on one of the Selinus metopes, and the head of Hermes on the coins of Aenus, to mention only a few familiar examples. The lyre-player's hair is cut short in the style which was beginning to predominate at this period, and which is illustrated by the Delphi charioteer and by most of the male figures in the Olympia pediments and metopes. The details of the short locks are engraved in the same manner as on all the other heads. If there is any difference between the two reliefs in the treatment of the hair, it is that on the Ludovisi relief the strands are slightly larger and more sharply carved, giving a certain "wiry" texture not found on any of the heads in the Boston relief where the more finely engraved lines give a softer effect. Gardner's remarks on the treatment of the hair are incomprehensible to me.

The tendency to reveal the bodily forms through the clothing, which is most marked in the central figure on the front of the Ludovisi relief, appears also in the two attendants, in the upper part of the seated Aphrodite, and even in the incense burner who is tightly wrapped in her woolen mantle. The form of the rising goddess shows through the clinging garment as clearly as if she were nude. The breasts are spread apart farther than is usual in archaic sculpture, evidently because of the outstretched arms and suspended pose, though vase paintings of the severe style sometimes show an analogous treatment. Her pose accounts also for the accentuation of the outline of the ribs and the navel. The same strong tendency towards realism appears in the figure of the nude girl in which only the position of the right thigh is open to criticism. A comparison with the nude figures on the Boston relief shows an ability to distinguish between female and male forms which is unparalleled in transitional sculpture. The two nude boys are fully developed, but not of an athletic type. Though the anatomical structure is sufficiently understood, it is not emphasized, the bodies being covered with a soft layer of flesh with smoothly rounded surfaces. In this respect they are in the strongest contrast to the Aeginetan pediment groups and to what little is known of contemporary Peloponnesian scul-

ture, but closely allied to the reliefs of the North Greek school and the Olympia sculptures. Among the latter the soft rendering of the bodily surfaces is most pronounced in the figures of Heracles and Atlas on the Atlas metope.

According to Gardner the hands on the relief in Boston "are treated with a knowledge of anatomy and perspective and a realism in details such as is hard to parallel in early reliefs." The first part of this statement is true, though the right hand of the Aphrodite on the front of the relief is drawn rather than carved in the round, and is not altogether successful as a study in perspective. So also is the right hand of the Eros which holds the balance. But parallels are not hard to find. Aside from the hands on the Ludovisi monument, which Gardner finds different, but which are actually at exactly the same stage of artistic development, a comparison with the Olympia sculptures again suggests itself. The hands of the pedimental figures are carved in a surprisingly realistic and individual style, so that if a new fragment were found it could be identified by this feature alone. And the same is true of the hands on the two reliefs. Aside from

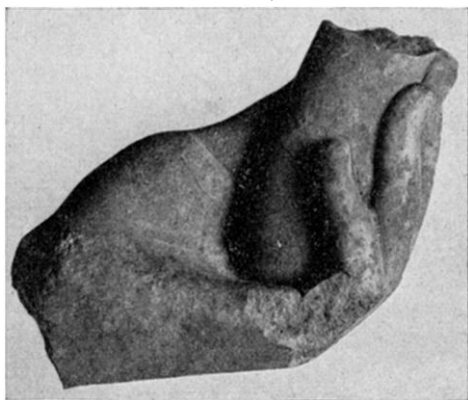


FIGURE 11.—HAND WITH ALABASTRON: BOSTON.

the realistic details they are characterized by the slenderness of the fingers which turn up slightly at the tips. This last peculiarity is illustrated also by the Olympia sculptures, by the Conservatori and Giustiniani reliefs, by North Greek reliefs, and by a fragment in Boston showing a hand holding an alabastron (Fig. 11).

The feet also are all alike, except for the greater breadth of those on the monument in Boston which is executed in higher relief. Their most distinctive feature, illustrated by those which touch the ground only lightly or not at all (one foot of each of the Hours, and of the flute player; the feet of the small figure sus-

pended in the right hand scale) is the pronounced arch of the sole,—a new detail borrowed directly from nature.

#### 4. The Drapery

Most of the female figures on the two reliefs wear the Ionic chiton with loose sleeves, and three have in addition a voluminous himation which is drawn up over their heads. For the sake of variety the Hour standing to the left of Aphrodite wears a sleeveless Doric chiton with an overfold reaching to the waist and matching the short *kolpos* of her companion. The simpler Doric garb was also found more appropriate to the character of

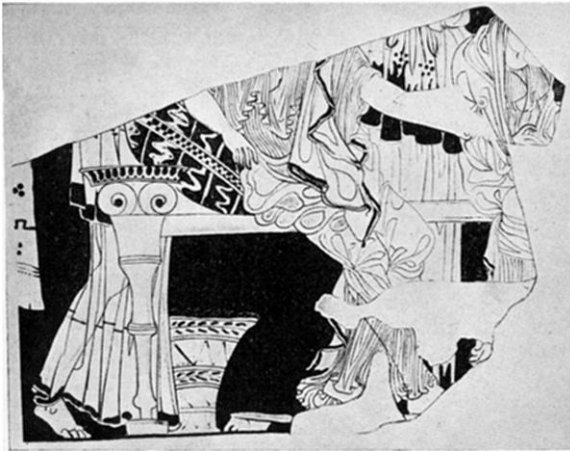


FIGURE 12.—FRAGMENT OF VASE: ATHENS.

the old woman on the left wing of the Boston relief. The *sakkos*, or cap, which confines the hair of the courtesan, is worn also by the incense burner and the two seated goddesses.

The style in which these draperies are executed can

be most truly described as "transitional." For the folds of the chitons are rendered for the most part by series of parallel lines, wavy or straight, in accordance with archaic convention, while the surfaces of the mantles reveal a careful study of the actual, accidental folds and creases that appear in soft woolen cloth. In the Olympia sculptures this new style is carried still farther. It is not thoroughly realistic, since the folds are still rendered largely by parallel grooves and by only a slight modulation of the surface, without the strong play of light and shade which characterizes the draperies of the Parthenon sculptures. Where the hollows are deepest they have a tendency to take the form of loops, or "eyes." This is especially well illustrated

by the kneeling Lapith woman, E, from the west pediment (cf. Fig. 14). It appears also in the himation of the smiling goddess on the front of the Boston relief, in the stele of Philis from Thasos, and in the Conservatori stele.

Similar "eye-folds," drawn in outline and generally filled with dilute glaze to indicate shadows, are found in a small series of vase paintings, executed about 460 B.C., most of which are demonstrably influenced by the frescoes of Polygnotus, Micon, and their contemporaries, *e.g.* the volute crater in New York<sup>1</sup> and the Argonaut crater in the Louvre.<sup>2</sup> A fragment in Athens with a representation of a seated woman<sup>3</sup> furnishes a close parallel to the stele of Philis in the treatment of the folds about the hips, as Hauser has noted and as may be seen by comparing the photograph of it (Fig. 12) with Figure 13 in which the stele is reproduced in the technique of a vase painting.



FIGURE 13.—STELE OF PHILIS.

Figures 14 and 15 show attempts to render the kneeling Lapith woman and the Aphrodite of the Boston relief drawn in this same technique. The painter of the New York volute crater, as Hauser has observed, used this new style only for the more carefully executed

<sup>1</sup> *Griech. Vasenmalerei*, II, pls. 116, 117.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* II, pl. 108.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* II, p. 310, fig. 103.

pictures on the front of the vase. On the reverse he relapsed into the more familiar, conventional style. It is obvious that the eye-folds were not invented by the vase painters; and since they do not appear on contemporary sculptures in the round, it may be inferred that the artists of the reliefs and of the Olympia pediments, as well as of the vases, borrowed this new convention from the painters of the frescoes. In the same way the many striking resemblances in the composition of the west pediment at Olympia and of the Centauromachy on the New York crater can only be



FIGURE 14.—LAPITH WOMAN: OLYMPIA.

explained, as Hauser has suggested, on the theory that both were inspired by a fresco. Echoes of this "Polygnotan" style of rendering drapery are perceptible in two or three of the metopes of the Parthenon, especially the north metope XXXII (Fig. 16).

#### 5. *The Accessories*

The representations of the lyre, the thymiaterion, and the pyxis again show a careful study of actual models. And, as already noted, the two fishes in the lower left hand angle of the relief in Boston are so realistically carved that they can be identified as red and grey

mulletts respectively. In the indication of the pebbly beach Marshall sees an argument for attributing the relief to an Ionic school. It also recalls the statement in Pausanias' description (X, 25, 11) of the Iliupersis of Polygnotus that pebbles were indicated on the Trojan strand: ἄχρη μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἵππου

αἰγιαλός τε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ψηφίδες ὑποφαίνονται. The pillows also are admirable studies of still life; on two of them even the seams are indicated. To judge from the Centauromachy on the New York crater, the painter of the fresco on which it is based made a liberal use of similar cushions. We can compare also the realistic carving of the mattresses on which the women in the angles of the Olympian west pediment recline, and of the pillow used by Heracles in the Atlas metope to ease his load.

#### 6. *The Use of Color*

The style of the reliefs cannot be fully comprehended without taking into account the colors with which large portions of the surface were originally covered. It may be regarded as certain that the background was painted, and that the garments were distinguished by different tints. The hair, eyes, and lips of the figures were painted, but their bodies were presumably left in the natural tone of the marble. Certain details like the latchets of the sandals, worn by four of the figures on the Boston relief and by the incense burner, the strings of the lyre, the fillet of the old woman,<sup>1</sup> the handle of the balance, were not indicated plastically at all, but were left to be added by paint. Such use of color is of course not limited to reliefs, but is found also on Greek marble sculptures in the round. In the works under discussion, however, the influence of the sister art of painting is unusually strong. The figures in the great historical and mythological frescoes of Polygnotus and his school were in



FIGURE 15.—APHRODITE FROM BOSTON RELIEF.

<sup>1</sup> The way in which this fillet presses into the hair is found by Gardner to be unusual. It happens, however, to be illustrated repeatedly by the Olympia sculptures, e.g. the man, L, from the west pediment, the Theseus, west pediment M, the Centaur N, the back hair of Athena in the Nemean lion metope, the Heracles in the Atlas metope.

all probability line drawings, colored for the most part in flat tones, with only a very limited use of shading. And without doing an injustice to the plastic qualities of these reliefs—the play of light and shade on their softly modulated surfaces—it can fairly be said that their beauty depends to a great degree upon the design of the contours and the lines of the draperies. Moreover, many details were only made clearly perceptible by the addition of color. In the figures of the mourning goddess and the incense burner the edge of the himation running along the forearm is in the lowest possible relief, and the same is true of the mantle of the smiling goddess where it is



FIGURE 16.—METOPE OF PARTHENON.

outlined against the background. The lower edge of the incense burner's himation illustrates the same trait; and the lower edge of the old woman's apptygma is at present hardly intelligible. The loose sleeves of the Hours which fall over the arms of the central figure, and the sleeve of the mourning goddess which falls upon her thigh are again in the lowest possible relief. The sleeves of the rising Aphrodite appear as if stuck upon the background; and the edges of her chiton are projected upon the background at either side in the same way.

All this was made clear when the different garments were distinguished from one another as well as from the flesh parts and the background by the application of colors.

In this connection a comparison with the Olympia sculptures

again suggests itself. As Brunn has remarked, the composition of the pediments is pictorial rather than sculptural. This applies more strictly to the west than to the east pediment. The five standing figures in the centre of the latter recall not only the figures from the Argonaut crater but also the descriptions of the groups of statues set up at Delphi and in other sanctuaries in rows or on a common semi-circular pedestal. And the two quadrigas with their drivers and grooms may have been inspired by the votive chariots set up at Olympia and Delphi by the tyrants of Syracuse and others in commemoration of their victories in the chariot race. But the struggling combatants in the centauro-machy of the west gable form real groups designed with a view to the decorative effect of the whole. They thus present a strong contrast to the Aeginetan pediment groups which are a collection of statues in the round,—each one worked separately and equally finished on all sides with a perfection of detail which could have counted for little after the figures were hoisted into place. Though the Aeginetan figures were brilliantly colored, they do not depend upon the painted decoration for their effectiveness any more than the bronze statues with which they are technically so closely related. But the sculptors of the Olympia pediments relied largely upon the use of color to attain the effect at which they were aiming. Details, such as the hair of some of the figures, are unintelligible without the aid of paint. The rear part of the centaur G, as Hauser has noted,<sup>1</sup> is entirely omitted in the marble, and, if represented at all, must have been painted on the background. The draperies are designed as masses of solid color; the folds, except for the characteristic “eyes,” are rendered in a linear rather than a plastic style, without any appreciation of the effect of strong light and shade, of which the sculptors of the Parthenon pediments were later to make such a wonderful use. On several of the figures (*e.g.* the seated boy, east pediment E; the “Alpheus,” east A; the reclining women, west A and V) a portion of the drapery lies flat along the body with its edge marked by a barely perceptible line, so that the garment when seen from a distance could not be distinguished from the flesh. This peculiar feature, which is also exemplified by the two reliefs, seems to have been borrowed from the technique of painting. In connection with Pliny’s statement that Polygnotus covered the heads of his women with bands of various colors (*capita earum mitris versicoloribus operuit. N. H. XXXV,*

<sup>1</sup> *Griech. Vasenmalerei*, II, p. 311.



58) Brunn has cited the headdresses of Philis and the maidens on the stele from Pharsalus, and the headcloths worn by several of the Lapith women in the Olympian west pediment. To this list may be added the *sakkoi* of four of the women on the reliefs under discussion, and the fillets of the girl on the Giustiniani stele. The object was to add a touch of bright color to the composition. This object was also attained by the coloring of the cushions and mattresses which figure prominently both in the reliefs and the Olympia sculptures.

7. *The Characterization of the Figures and the Expression of Emotion: ἦθος and πάθος.*

In the discussion of the subjects of the reliefs attention was called to the contrasts presented by the four worshippers on the wings of the monuments. This clear differentiation of their characters is achieved by a skillful selection of motives, poses, and costume, and to a limited degree by the variation of bodily and facial traits. Most of the figures are taken, as we have seen, from the repertory of types already created, but they are given a new and richer significance. Parallels in vase paintings to the old woman, the courtesan, and the lyre player have been illustrated above (Figs. 4, 6, 7). The frontal figure of Eros with wings outspread appears frequently on Attic vases of the severe style, and the position of his left arm with the hand on the hip is illustrated by the Oenomaus of the Olympia east pediment and a bronze statuette of about 460 B.C. in Boston.<sup>1</sup> The figure of the old woman does not show the "feeling of caricature" which Gardner finds in it so much as a sincere and astonishingly successful attempt to portray the characteristics of advanced old age. Among vase paintings the Aethra and other figures on the Vivenzio hydria, which belongs to a slightly earlier tradition, show an attempt at distinguishing the ages of the characters; and as examples of a more pronounced realistic treatment we may cite the fine portrait of an old soldier on a lecythus in New York,<sup>2</sup> and the gruesome hag on the scyphus by Pistoxenos in Schwerin.<sup>3</sup>

The Olympia sculptures once more offer close analogies in the heads of the old women at the ends of the west pediment, which are, it is true, restorations of Roman times, but evidently copied

<sup>1</sup> *J.H.S.* XXXIV, 1914, p. 75, fig. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Griech. Vasenmalerei* II, p. 265, fig. 94 a.

<sup>3</sup> *Jb. Arch. I.* XXVII, 1912, pls. VI, VIII.

closely from the originals they replaced,<sup>1</sup> and especially in the figure of the seated seer from the east pediment. His baldness, the crow's-feet in the corners of his eyes, the wrinkles on his forehead and finger joints, the folds of loose flesh on his chest, are evidently studied from life. Moreover, in these pediments, as in the triple reliefs, the characterization is not confined to the aged persons. The two pairs of figures in the centre of the east pediment are clearly differentiated. The greater age of Oenomaus is suggested not only by his beard, but by the deep folds of flesh running from the nose to the corners of the mouth. His face has a cruel, sinister look; and his pose expresses a careless confidence in the outcome of the contest. The figure of Pelops is more youthful, and the slight inclination of his head gives him a more modest mien. Though the figures of the two women are much mutilated, there is no difficulty in distinguishing Hippodameia from her mother: the pose of her arms suggests the shrinking modesty of the bride. In both pediments the subsidiary figures are characterized as belonging to a lower social sphere. The youth E in the east pediment, seated with one leg drawn up and pressing his forefinger on his great toe, and the reclining figures in the angles, can only be described as country louts. In the same way the reclining women in the west pediment are contrasted with the Lapith heroines, H and C. This tendency to portray rustic types is somewhat inappropriately illustrated by the Stymphalian birds metope. As Brunn has remarked, Athena is here a charming country girl perched on a rock, and unrecognizable except for her aegis.

All this brings up the question as to what is meant by "Polygnotan ēthos," a quality which is mentioned several times by ancient writers. Three of the four passages quoted by Overbeck<sup>2</sup> are from Aristotle. In comparing the later tragedies with those of the great age (*Poetics*, 6) he characterizes the former as ἀήθεις, the contrast being like that between Zeuxis and Polygnotus: ὁ μὲν Πολύγνωτος ἀγαθὸς ἡθογράφος, ἡ δὲ Ζεύξιδος γραφή οὐδὲν ἔχει ἥθος. In *Politics*, VIII, 5, 7, he again refers to Polygnotus as ἡθικός. And in *Poetics*, 2, he distinguishes different kinds of ἥθος:—ἐπεὶ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> It seems certain that the damaged original heads were sufficiently well preserved to serve as models to the restorer. The realistic rendering of old age which they show is not of the sort found in Hellenistic sculpture, but analogous to that of the "seer" from the east pediment. It is impossible to ascribe it to a restorer of the Graeco-Roman period.

<sup>2</sup> *Schriftquellen*, Nos. 1077-1079.

μιμοῦνται οἱ μιμούμενοι πράττοντας, ἀναγκὴ δὲ τούτους ἢ σπουδαίους ἢ φαύλους εἶναι . . . ἦτοι βελτίονας ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἢ χείρονας ἢ καὶ τοιούτους, ὥσπερ οἱ γραφεῖς. Πολύγνωτος μὲν γὰρ κρείττους, Παύσων δὲ χείρους, Διονύσιος δὲ ὁμοίους εἵκαζεν. That is, Polygnotus excelled in the portrayal of character, and he idealized his personages, —made them superior to ordinary men, whereas Pauson made them worse, and Dionysius made them as they actually were. This has led to a somewhat loose use of the term *ἦθος* by some modern writers. It is customary, for example, to speak of the *ἦθος* of the Parthenon frieze, meaning the high level of idealization maintained throughout. But the subsidiary figures in the Olympia pediments show just as much *ἦθος*, though of quite a different kind. On the other hand in the representation of the main personages, above all in the head of Apollo, the sculptor has risen to heights never before reached in Greek art, and certainly not surpassed by any pre-Phidian works which have survived. To what degree Aristotle would have found that these figures correspond to his definition of Polygnotan *ἔθος*, we have no means of knowing. We may, however, assume that not all the people in the frescoes of Polygnotus were represented at the same level of ideal beauty. The figure of Aethra in the Iliupersis was doubtless a realistic study of an old woman, as was the old woman with short cropped hair, holding a child in her arms, in the same picture (ἐν χρῶ κεκαρμένη πρεσβύτις ἢ ἄνθρωπος εὐνουχος)—apparently a nurse, and probably so characterized as to distinguish her from the heroines who had their names inscribed beside them.

It is often said, and truly, that Polygnotus, Phidias, and their contemporaries expressed the typical, permanent qualities of the gods and men whom they represented, while it remained for Praxiteles and Scopas to render transitory emotion and passion—τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς πάθη. And the scene on the front of the Boston relief, therefore, seems to Gardner in this respect also to transgress the principles of transitional Greek sculpture. But the fact that fifth century artists emphasised *ἦθος* rather than *πάθος* does not prove that they avoided entirely the expression of emotion when the subject demanded it. The weighing scene, for example, would have been unintelligible if the varying emotions of the two goddesses had not been clearly expressed. The gestures and expressions which Gardner condemns as “affected” and “theatrical” might more appropriately be called “simple” and “naïve”; and they are entirely characteristic of the period.

The pose of the sorrowing goddess is, as Gardner is elsewhere eager to admit, exactly similar to that of the "Penelope type," preserved not only in a vase painting and in a Roman marble statue in the round, but also in the Chiaramonti relief, which is a fifth century original. And, as proof that the motive of the hand held to the head was a favorite device of transitional sculptors to express the emotions of weariness, anxiety, or fear, we are able to cite further the Heracles on one of the Olympia metopes standing over the body of the Nemean lion with his head propped on his hand, the seer from the east pediment who lifts his hand to his



FIGURE 17.—HEAD OF APHRODITE FROM BOSTON RELIEF.

cheek in a gesture which is certainly intended to be dramatic, and the reclining woman from the west pediment who clutches at her hair. This motive was also used several times by Polygnotus in the Nekyia. And the outstretched arm of Aphrodite is no more "affected" or "theatrical" than the outstretched arm of Hermes on the Thasian relief in the Louvre, or than the gesture of Eurystheus hiding in his pithos on an Olympia metope, or that of the woman, V, at the right end of the west pediment, not to speak of the hands of the maidens on the relief from Pharsalus which hold up flowers, or the hand of the woman on the Conservatori stele which holds up a fold of her himation.

The smile of Aphrodite was also necessary to the expression of the sculptor's idea, and perfectly in harmony with the style of the period. The smile is not rendered in the style of Praxiteles or of Leonardo but that it is not entirely lacking in charm is shown by the accompanying photograph (Fig. 17), reproduced to counteract the unfortunate impression given by the photographs published by Studniczka (*l. c.* p. 126, fig. 49) and Gardner (*l. c.* p. 78, fig. 1). In this connection we may recall the statement of Pliny to the effect that Polygnotus was the first to give his figures a pronounced facial expression (*instituit os adaperire, dentis ostendere, vultum ab antiquo rigore variare. N. H. XXXV, 58*), and compare the heads on the Argonaut crater, of which Hauser remarks that "whereas in earlier Greek vase paintings figures in the most violent action have perfectly calm features, here quietly posed figures have a strong facial expression." The painter has attempted to give character to the faces by indicating wrinkles on the forehead and folds in the cheeks, and by showing the teeth between the parted lips. Moreover, the Lapith bitten by a centaur in the west pediment of the temple at Olympia furnishes an instance of more pronounced facial expression than is to be found on the Boston relief; and the same is true in a less degree of some of the other figures in the same pediment.<sup>1</sup> The "pathos" as well as the "ēthos" shown by the reliefs is thus seen to be characteristic of the transitional period.

The foregoing discussion has sought to show that the triple relief in Boston is a true counterpart of the Ludovisi monument, not only in the externals of material, size, and form, but also in

<sup>1</sup> This would seem to disprove Gardner's statement (*l. c.* p. 79) that "such attempts at dramatic expression are alien to early Greek sculpture."

the essential features of technique, style, and spirit. In my opinion the relation between the two is so intimate as to warrant the belief that they were conceived in the same mind, and even executed by the same hand. Comparisons with contemporary works have shown further that many of the characteristics which seem at first sight peculiar are in complete harmony with the principles and practice of Greek artists of the time. The striking points of contact with a certain class of vase paintings and with the series of sculptures from the temple of Zeus at Olympia can only be explained as due to influence from a common source. And several reasons have been given for believing that this source was the great fresco paintings of the age. The west pediment of the temple at Olympia and the centauremachy on the crater in New York were both in all probability inspired by the same painting. No such close connection between paintings and our reliefs can be proved, or is to be assumed. They are "imitative" and "eclectic" only in the sense that all the masterpieces of Greek sculpture are founded on what has gone before, and influenced by contemporary achievements. Their sculptor was a creative genius, and they will always remain unique. But he was keenly alive to the new movement which strove to imitate nature directly in the representation of the human form and of drapery, and to give a new significance to the figures through the expression of character, or *ēthos*. The leaders of this movement, in some of its phases at least, were, as we have seen, the painters rather than the sculptors. Our argument thus tends to support the literary testimony of the ancients which assigns to Polygnotus the dominating position among the artists of his day.

The sculptor at the same time did not throw overboard his inheritance from the archaic period. The singular charm of the reliefs is due in great measure to the happy blending of archaism with realism in the rendering of the figures and the draperies. And the softly modulated surfaces of the marble show the perfection of technique which had been developed by Ionian sculptors during the sixth century. The reliefs are the latest and most perfect expression in sculpture of that rich Ionian civilization which flourished on the Asiatic coast of the Aegean, and which, when dispersed from its original homes by the Persian invasion, passed on the torch to Athens.

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A. RELIEF IN ROME: FRONT.



B. RELIEF IN BOSTON: FRONT.



A



B

RELIEF IN ROME: LEFT (A) AND RIGHT (B) WINGS.



C



D

RELIEF IN BOSTON: LEFT (C) AND RIGHT (D) WINGS.